FREE SOCIETY

FORMERLY *THE FIREBRAND.*

Exponent of Anarchist-Communism: Holding that Equality of Opportunity alone Constitutes Liberty, that in the Absence of Monopoly Price and Competition Cannot Exist, and that Communism is an Inevitable Consequence.

VOL. VII. NO. 36. CHICAGO, SUNDAY, OCTOBER 27, 1901. WHOLE NO. 334.

The One Espousing Unpopular Truth.

Not yet, dejected though thy cause, despair,
Nor doubt of dawn for all her laggard wing;
In shrewdest March the earth was mellowing,
And had conceived the Summer unaware.
With delicate ministrations, like the air,
The sovereign forces that conspire to bring
Light out of darkness, out of Winter, Spring,
Perform unseen their tasks benign and fair.
The sower soweth seed o'er vale and hill,
And long the folded life waits to be born;
Yet hath it never slept, nor once been still;
And clouds and suns have served night and morn;
The winds are of its secret council sworn;
And Time and nurtering Silence work its will.
—William Watson.

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The Craze and Its Consequences.

On September 7 last, there was probably not an Anarchist in the United States who did not deprecate the act of Czolgosz, if as nothing else, then as probably a great blow to Anarchism. That it has proved the contrary (which I think can now be shown) is due no other cause than the folly of Anarchism's enemies. That Czolgosz attributed his inspiration to Emma Goldman was a lie on its very face. No person possessing ordinary common sense can have believed that an assassin who rushed on certain death, would immediately after his arrest, have laid what he did to a woman. But, furthermore, it appeared by the cross-examination of his jailors, on his trial, that they had permitted the newspaper fakers to make them father another lie, in saying that he had described himself to them as an Anarchist at all. The first telegram, sent all over the country from Buffalo, stated that he did not profess to be an Anarchist; the second that de did; the only possible witnesses, when judicially questioned, that he did not. The first and last statements are undoubtedly correct, the second was a falsehood. It rests on no reliable testimony that Czolgosz, at any time since his arrest, has said anything which could be worth repeating. If the authorities at Buffalo, instead of allowing these roorbacks to be circulated in their name, or giving them a practical indorsement by demanding the arrest of Emma Goldman and other Anarchists, had been content to tell the truth, then, whatever evidence appeared that Czolgosz knew something about Anarchism, must have tended to strengthen the prejudice against it, without conferring any compensatory benefit.

But while Anarchism, like truth in general, can assimilate whatever meat that comes its way, there is no diet in which it finds so little nourishment as a conspiracy of silence. The one judicious thing the capitalistic press has done towards delaying that increase of Anarchism whose reality no one, during the last seven years, has ventured to deny, was refusing to publish any truth about it. An historical account, however frigid and impartial by one sufficiently inside to know something of the subject, has knocked at the doors of subsidized newspapers (?) and magazines these many years in vain. Anarchism was a tabooed subject, except for fake discoveries of bombs, and ranting denunciations, which the very readers of these public misinstructors came at last to pronounce mare's nest, "rats," and "chestnuts." Whenever the dollar to be made by sensation has looked larger than the dollar paid by the trusts for suppressing information, the capitalistic papers have done more to disseminate Anarchism in a month than our own could accomplish in a decade. It was so in 1886, 1887, 1894, 1898, 1899, 1900, and recently. If the "stamping-out" lunatics could succeed in giving some of their proposals effect;—if they caused the murder of some Anarchists; if it were possible to have another trial like that of Spies; if they obtained statutes for inflicting barbarous penalties upon Anarchistic agitators; if they procured the expulsion from the country, or the deportation to an island, of a few leading Anarchists (a few is evidently the utmost to whom such measures, even if constitutional, could be applied); if they got a new Comstock law, excluding from the mail professedly Anarchistic publications (I need not say that to exclude publications Anarchistic in fact would require far more discernment than any post-office spy possesses); then, however disagreeable these proceedings might prove to some of us, as individuals, it is unquestionable the effect on Anarchism would be giving it a mighty impetus.

This is no idle boast. The experiment has been tried. The result is known to all who carefully read the papers, censored and mutilated as the "news" is. After the assassination of Carnot, the French legislature adopted anti-Anarchistic statutes of unprecedentent severity. They almost made it criminal to *think* Anarchism. They actually did make it criminal to advocate Anarchism in conversation or a private letter. Of course, all Anarchistic publications, were, as far they could be, suppressed. A great many Anarchists were sent to the government's murder shops in Africa. This was only seven years ago. The fruit is that the young literary world of France has become Anarchist, open-mouthed.

To give our enemies advice may not be prudent. But we can afford to be generous. Let them know that the sure way to encourage the growth of Anarchism is to set people talking about it.

Turning from what may be done to what has been, nothing need be more encouraging for Anarchists than the result of their opponent's exertions since the death of the late president provided a weapon not then expected to prove mortal at the breech. Despite all attempts at persecution in one direction, and canonization in the other, that very large minority who had previously expressed extreme disapprobation of McKinley's administration showed no sign of being weak enough to change their minds because a crank has shot him. But those whose actions really witnessed that they rejoiced, were his own friends (?), the trusts, combines, jingoes, and their creatures. *They were in ecstacy.* They had got something against Anarchism at last. They would have a Saint Bartholomew of Anarchists. Those who escaped the mob, if at all prominent, were to be hanged by Gary law. The poor and obscure were to be blacklisted. The Anarchistic papers were to be suppressed. The foreign-born Anarchists were to be sent home. The native must be deported to an island. I pass without mention more extravagant absurdities, of which there were an abundance. All I have noted were fulminated openly, from a hundred pulpits to applauding worshippers (?), and in leading journals, which daily published such cartoons as that labeled "Shall Justice yield the sword to Vengeance";—it represented the Anarchist—the mythical Anarchist, our old acquaintance in such scenes,—crouching in abject terror; while the blind goddess, having dropped her bandage, did yield the sword, etc. What came of all this? Beyond exciting general curiosity to learn something about Anarchism—the very thing we wanted—absolutely nothing. They appealed to the mob; and the mob did not respond. Growing, as my personal observation witnesses, ashamed of that, and evidently alarmed at having compromised themselves, they went into the courts; and the courts turned them down directly. The legislatures remain. But it at once became clear that to reach the legislatures, the stampers-out must run what seems a fatal gauntlet. They all got to quarreling with each other directly. The Pope divided the blame of recent events between the Jews and the Freemasons, two rather powerful elements, henceforth to be reckoned anti-stamping-out. The sleepy papers blamed the "yellow journals"; and got the live ones over to the other side. The Republicans assailed the Democrats, and made them mad. The proposal for more gag-laws, within a week had raised an amount of protest which proves that the stamping-out craze has done what thirty years of liberal agitation had failed to do—*it has awakened the bourgeois and political papers to the truth that their own liberties are in danger; and that they must stand together against more Comstockism.* Mr. McKinley's successor, true to the tradition of an accidental president, while professing to carry on his predecessor's policy, began at once to reverse it. He recognized "the nigger," whom McKinley allowed to be murdered for holding Federal offices; and alienated the Confederate, to whom McKinley assiduously toadied. He came out for reciprocity, and estranged the trusts. His organs gave England and her

Boer war the cold shoulder. On the Philippine Islands, the westward-bound star of empire shows decidedly retrogressive tendencies. "Let us draw a veil" over the manner in which Ted the Terrible, on receiving his degree of LL. D., declined to shake hands with the multitude, and posed as Ted the Terrified.

The partial successes of our foes must be as gratifying to our sense of humor, if we have any, as their total defeats. The miserable subterfuges under which it is sought to delay the remailing of FREE SOCIETY, or to menace *Discontent* and *L'Aurora*, are simple confessions of inability to do any better. The muster of "patriotic citizens" for riotous purposes, at Spring Valley, resulted merely in showing that they were too divided to act. It has been said that the Gary law fizzle in the case of Emma Goldman *et al.*, was because the bosses would not put up stuff enough to procure another judicial butchery, like that of 1887. If so, first it is a fact of significance that they would not; secondly, who does not wish to know just how the blood-money was divided in 1887? But I guess they must have put up enough for the purpose had it appeared practicable. The real trouble was they knew that 1887 had increased instead of checking Anarchism.

Alas, my friends, the enemy! Anarchism is an "evil" not of the stamp-outable kind! It reaches "clear down into the holler." The harder you stamp, the bigger you make that hole down which all the application of Boodle are foredoomed to tumble. In 1887, Anarchism was dead, and buried, and forgotten, *et inferno decensus est*. In 1894, the cry was, "We must do something to arrest the *increase* of Anarchism." In 1901, we hear, from Rome all the way to Spring Valley, a reluctant growl, "The increase of Anarchism has got past arresting!" Then, after another stamp or so, it will be "We are all Anarchists now." C. L. JAMES.

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Integral Education.

We maintain that in the interests of both science and industry, as well as of society as a whole, every human being, without distinction of birth, ought to receive such an education as would enable him, or her, to combine a thorough knowledge of science with a thorough knowledge of handicraft. We fully recognize the necessity of specialization of knowledge, but we maintain that specialization must follow general education, and that general education must be given in science and handicraft alike. To the division of society into brain workers and manual workers we oppose the combination of both kinds of activities; and instead of "technical education," which means the maintenance of the present divison between brain work and manual work, we advocate the *éducation intégrale*, or complete education, which means the disappearance of that pernicious distinction. Plainly stated, the aims of the school under this system ought to be the following: To give such an education that, on leaving school at the age of eighteen or twenty, each boy and each girl should be endowed with a thorough knowledge of science—such a knowledge as might enable them to be useful workers in science—and, at the same time, to give them a general knowledge of what constitutes the bases of technical training, and such a skill in some special trade as would enable each of them to take his or her place in the grand world of the manual production of wealth. I know that many will find that aim too large, or even impossible to attain, but I hope that if they have the patience to read the following pages, they will see that we require nothing beyond what can be easily attained. In fact, *it has been attained;* and what has been done on a small scale could be done on a wider scale, were it not for the economical and social causes which prevent any serious reform from being accomplished in our miserable organized society.

The experiment has been made at the Moscow Technical school for twenty consecutive years with many hundreds of boys; and, according to the testimonies of the most competent judges at the exhibitions of Brussels, Phildelphia, Vienna, and Paris, the experiment has been a success. The Moscow school admits boys not older than fifteen, and it requires from boys of that age nothing but a substantial knowledge of geometry and algebra, together with the usual knowledge of their mother tongue; younger pupils were received in the preparatory classes. The school is divided into two sections—the mechanical and the chemical; but as I personally know better the former, and as it is also the more important with reference to the question before us, so I shall limit my remarks to the education given in the mechanical section. After a five or six years' stay at the school, the students leave it with a thorough knowledge of higher mathematics, physics, mechanics, and connected sciences—so thorough, indeed, that it is not second to that acquired in the best mathematical faculties of the most eminent European universities. When myself a student of the mathematical faculty of the St. Petersburs University, I had the opportunity of comparing the knowledge of the students of the Moscow Technical School with our own. I saw the courses of higher geometry some of them had compiled for the use of their comrades; I admired the facility with which they applied the integral calculus to dynamical problems, and I came to the conclusion that while we, university students, had more knowledge of a general character (for instance, in mathematical astronomy), they, the students of the technical school, were much more advanced in higher geometry, and especially in the applications of higher mathematics to the most intricate problems of dynamics—the theories of heat and elasticity. But while we, the students of the university, hardly knew the use of our hands, the students of the technical school fabricated *with their own hands*, and without the help of professional workmen, fine steam-engines, from the heavy boiler to the last finely-turned screw, agriculture machinery, and scientific apparatus—all for the trade—and they received the highest awards for the work at the international exhibitions. They were scientifically educated skilled workers—workers with university education—highly appreciated even by the Russian manufacturers who so much distrust science.

Now, the methods by which these wonderful results were achieved were these: In science learning from memory was not in honor, while independent research was favored by all means. Science was taught hand in hand with its applications, and what was learned in the school room was applied in the workshop. Great attention was paid to the highest abstractions of geometry as a means for developing imagination and research. As to the teaching of handicraft, the methods were quite different from those which proved a failure at the Cornell University, and differed, in fact, from those used in most technical schools. The student was not sent to a workshop to learn some special handicraft and to earn his existence as soon as possible, but the teaching of technical skill was prosecuted—according to a scheme elaborated by the founder of the school, M. Dellavos, and now applied also at Chicago and Boston—in the same systematical way as laboratory work is taught in the universities. It is evident that drawing was considered as the first step in technical education. Then the student was brought, first, to the carpenter's workshop, or rather laboratory, and there he was thoroughly taught to execute all kinds of carpentry and joinery. No efforts were spared in order to bring the pupil to a certain perfection in that branch—the real basis of all trades. Later on, he was transferred to the turner's workshop, where he was taught to make in wood the patterns of those things which he would have to make in metals in the following workshops. The foundry followed, and there he was taught to cast those parts of machines which he had prepared in wood; and it was only after he had gone through the first three stages that he was admitted to the smith's and engineer's workshops. Such was the system which English readers will find described in full in a work by Mr. Ch. H. Ham.* As for the perfection of the mechanical work of the students, I cannot do better than refer to the reports of the juries at the above named exhibitions.

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It is evident that the years of childhood ought not to be spent so uselessly as they are now. German teachers have shown how the very plays of children can be made instrumental in conveying to the childish mind some concrete knowledge in both geometry and mathematics. The children who have made the squares of the theorem of Pythagoras out of pieces of colored cardboard, will not look at the theorem, when it comes in geometry, as on a mere instrument of torture devised by the teachers; and the less so if they apply it as the carpenters do. Complicated problems of arithmetic, which so much harassed us in our boyhood, are easily solved by children seven and eight years old if they are put in the shape of interesting puzzles. And if the *Kintergarten*—German teachers often make

* *Manual Training: The Solution of Social and Industrial Problems.* By Ch. H. Ham. London: Blackie and Son, 1886. I can add that like results have been achieved again at the Krasnoufimsk *Realschule*, in the province of Orenburg, especially with regard to agriculture and agricultural machinery. The achievements of the school, however, are so interesting that they deserve more than a short mention.

of it a kind of barrack in which each movement of the child is regulated beforehand—has often become a small prison for the little ones, the idea which presided at its foundation is nevertheless true. In fact, it is almost impossible to imagine, without having tried it, how many sound notions of nature, habits of classification, and taste for natural sciences can be conveyed to the children's minds; and, if a series of concentric courses, adapted to the various phases of the development of the human being, were generally accepted in education, the first series in all sciences, save sociology, could be taught before the age of ten or twelve, so as to give a general idea of the universe, the earth and its inhabitants, the chief physical, chemical, zoological, and botanical phenomena, leaving the discovery of the *laws* of those phenomena to the next series of deeper and more specialized studies. On the other side, we all know how children like to make toys themselves, how they gladly imitate the work of full-grown people if they see them at work in the workshop or the building yard. But the parents either stupidly paralyze that passion, or do not know how to utilize it. Most of them despise manual work and prefer sending their children to the study of Roman history, or of Franklin's teaching about saving money, to seeing them at work, which is good for the "lower classes only." They thus do their best to render subsequent learning the more difficult.—Peter Kropotkin, in *Freedom*, London.

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Danger to Free Speech.

Let it be observed, in passing, that the impelling motive for trying to silence philosophical Anarchists is not because they declaim against government. That would asouse neither fear nor antagonism. It is the plea they make, namely, that government is the instrument which enables the few to oppress and plunder the many.

They point to trusts, for instance, as an institution that would die of inanation if government were abolished and competition thereby freed. And in doing so, they vigorously denounce the social conditions, attributed by them to government, which maintain a few idle or worse than idle rich at the expense of millions of working poor.

That is what hurts. That is the thing to be suppressed. Talk of that kind "arrays class against class." It makes the many feel that "their incapacity and weakness is the result of a tyrannical social system." It inflames men like Czolgosz, "embittered by the sharp struggle for existence, to the commission of hideous crimes." It "sows seeds of discontent" among the "prosperous" poor, and disturbs the serenity of the privileged rich. It unsettles society at the base, and weakens government at the source. That, we submit, is by no means an unfair interpretation of the real objection to philosophical Anarchists. . . . . .

And blind indeed must that man be who sees in this program only a move against the Anarchist. The sentiment of philosophical Anarchists that really make their speeches objectionable to the plutocratic engineers of this conspiracy against free government in America, are cordially shared by every one who opposes the political and economic influences, which are everywhere making a few rich through privilege and keeping the many consequently poor. This crusade of plutocracy, nominally against Anarchists, is in reality against all who express those sentiments. It includes, also, such as oppose the policy of conquest, colonialism and imperialism. Indeed, it includes all who criticise with any vigor at all the political party which happens to be in power.

Is this not so? If not, why has the assassination of President McKinley been coolly charged to Bryanism? If not, why is it traced to Bryan's speeches criticising the imperialistic policy on which our republic has embarked, and the inequitable distribution of wealth which its laws promote? If not, why has it been charged to anti-imperialists? If not, why has it been charged to public men and private men upon no other basis than that they have spoken against conquest, against militarism, against colonialism, against trusts and against other public policies that tend to subvert the principles of liberty and to maks the few rich at the expense of the many?

Let there be no mistake. This movement for the abrogation of constitutional guarantees of free speech and for the creation of a new form of treason—or rather, the revival of an old one,—has for its object larger game than philosophical Anarchists. No effective law to suppress philosophical Anarchists can possibly be drafted which would not be a most powerful weapon for any party in power to use against the opposition.—*The Public*, Chicago.

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A Reverend on Anarchists.

Rev. Frank Crane at the Hyde Park Methodist Episcopal church yesterday morning furnished a surprise when in the course of his sermon he took occasion to defend Emma Goldman and the Socialists. Although the pulpits of Chicago have been denouncing in unmeasured terms Anarchy and its believers, Rev. Mr. Crane insisted that Socialists and reformers of every class were advanced thinkers.

"When Emma Goldman was arrested," he said, "she had in her hand a copy of the book 'Towards Democracy.' How many of you have read it, or how many of you could read it through? You say that Socialism, Single Tax and nearly all reforms are wrong. How do you know? Have you studied these questions? No, you prefer to travel in the same rut that you have traveled for years.

"Down at the public library you will find books on political economy and on sociology thumbed and worn and marked. Who did it? Did any of you believers in the constitution of the same old social order of things that we have had for years do it? No, it was done by the men who cannot afford to buy books they love.

"They are progressive and they study the questions that you condemn without reason. Those men are thinkers. You are the dead ones."

"Let the dead bury the dead," was the subject of Rev. Mr. Crane's discourse. Christ's words, he said, were not to be taken literally. Many of his epigrammatic utterances were made to the disciples, not because of any desire to cloud the meaning in doubt, but because of the tendency of the oriental mind to clothe direct expressions in such ambiguous form.

"The true meaning of the words," said Rev. Mr. Crane, "teaches us that when a man receives a call to higher things he must not let ordinary matters stand in his way. There are plenty of ordinary people to attend to them. Take Joan of Arc. Suppose when she saw the vision and heard the voice calling her to the service of her country that she had folded her hands and remained inactive because she did not know who would tend the sheep. There are plenty of ordinary shepherds, but there is but one Joan of Arc.

"We are living in ragtime. The modern newspaper, the modern novel and nearly all modern literature—all are worthless. There are plenty of blockheads to do these things. Let the dead attend to this work. To those of you who have a call to go up and on, let the dead ones take care of the dead things.

"Listen, you women who slave at home washing dishes and sweeping and making beds, what is it all worth? There are better things. And the man who toils early and late in his office, piling up his wealth, but neglecting his family, ignoring his home until the glow on the family hearth and altar has gone out, what does he gain?

"They place such a man at the head of the public table. They point to him and say, 'Ah, there is a great man!' He sits on bags of gold and his heart is ashes and his life is grown sordid and narrow. What is it all worth? The slaving woman and the toiling man have lost what is a million times more valuable than they can ever regain. They have neglected great opportunities because of ordinary things. To them come the words of Christ. 'Let the dead bury the dead."—Chicago *Chronicle*.

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"Peaceable Evolution."

"Free speech" is receiving one vindication after another in America. That the reactionairies do not intend to confine themselves to Anarchists is also becoming apparent. In Beaumont, Tex., on October 20, F. D. Lyon, a Socialist lecturer, delivered there a street-corner speech. The police arrested the man for "defamation of character," which they changed later into "disorderly conduct," the same subterfuge which was resorted to in the case of John Most. When the friends of Lyon went to the guard-house, where he was taken upon his arrest, to give bail for his release, it was found he had been kidnapped, by whom is not yet clear. Later it came out that he had been taken to Terris, Tex., on a freight train. He was horribly beaten up. "A rigid investigation of this outrage is in progress," says the city marshal; but Lyons asserts that it was the marshal himself who opened the door when he was kidnapped.

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What a crime, to be sure, to love liberty, to advocate bread and raiment for the son of man that hath not where to lay his head! How keen capitalism is to "suspect" every lover of humanity, every exposer of shams and hypocrisies, every enemy of exploitation, of "plots" and "conspiracies."—H. M. T.

FREE SOCIETY.

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ANARCHY.—A social theory which regards the union of order with the absence of all direct governmen of man by man as the political ideal; absolute individual liberty.—Century Dictionary.

As long as dishonorable success outranks honest effort—as long as society bows and cringes before the great thieves—there will be little ones enough to fill the jails.—Ingersoll.

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To All Comrades!

Pressing circumstances and menacing conditions urge us to appeal to you. As is known to you, Comrade John Most has been "sentenced" to serve one year in the penitentiary. The most bare-faced violation of the law, the most malicious and vile condemnation that has ever has been perpetrated upon Comrade Most, was committed by the New York judges; and we intend to appeal to the higher court. But such proceeding requires money. The comrades of New York have already successfully appealed to the labor unions, and a defense committee has been formed. This committee has already taken up the work necessary; but, in order to counteract this governmental injustice successfully, we need your fraternal assistance. The money will be used exclusively for legal proceedings.

WORKINGMEN'S DEFENSE ASS'N.,
E. BRADY, Treasurer.
New York, N. Y., 182 E 82nd St.
Exchanges please copy.

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Notes.

Under the auspices of labor unions, turner and singing societies, the 14th anniversery of the victims of the Chicago labor movement will be celebrated November 11, 8 p. m., at Brand's Hall, cor. Erie and N. Clark. Admission 10 cents.

Comrade Voltairine de Cleyre will be the principal speaker of the evening, and we hope that friends and foes will come and hear what she has to say on the occasion.

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Splinters.

Much gush has been indulged in by the editorial penny-a-liners of the daily newspapers concerning the trial of Czolgosz. It is held up as a shining example of the "dignity of the law." In appointing "able lawyers for the defense" the Anarchist was to be shown that the rights of citizens are ever under the motherly care of the law, and even the assassin was given the benefit of those rights; whether he wanted them or not. That such trash could be dished up in so large doses, does not argue well for the intelligence of the average newspaper reader. The fact of the matter is, Czolgosz had no trial. And the "able defense" would have been a disgrace for the most insignificent shyster, had not the defendant been Czolgosz. If it was necessary to go through the formality of a trial, after the prisoner had pleaded guilty, it is hardly an appropriate subject for congratulation. The whole proceeding appears as a frightful farce to unprejudiced minds. And the gloating which has been going on over Czolgosz' speedy condemnation and coming execution will not inspire feelings of respect for the expounders of the law or its officers. It is no wonder the judge refused to allow Czolgosz to speak on the "social order of things." It is probable he would have drawn up an indiciment of societary condition; which could not have been disproved easily.

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It is reported from Washington that district inspectors of the Secret Service are going to prepare a list of all the Anarchists in the United States, their names to be printed in a "Red Book," together with those associating with Anarchists and attending their meetings. A close watch is to be kept on these people. They have a big job on hand; but undoubtedly it will make room for "place hunters." The idea is imported directly from Russia, where the practice has prevailed for years. Its utter failure to effect anything, beyond exasperating the propagandists of all schools, has been fully demonstrated in Russia; and the American amendment of making the whole matter public will not enhance its value.

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The consul from Venezuela to Philadelphia contributes an article to the Chicago *Daily News* concerning Anarchists in South America. He states that the laws are severe against Anarchists there; that any agitation or propaganda of Anarchism quickly leads to the imprisonment of the propagandists. All Anarchist papers are under the ban, and "if the police failed to raid the publication office of an Anarchist sheet, the populace would make short work of it." He states also that even Socialism is under the ban, and that Socialistic literature is barred from the mails. The article but again illustrates that a "prophet is without honor in his own country," for such statements would undoubtedly be received with amusement in South America. Whatever the laws may be there, the fact is that in South America the Anarchists have more papers and a stronger propaganda than anywhere else. It will come as a surprise to the comrades to learn that they are not tolerated there, and that as a consequenee no propaganda exists. The gentleman who wrote the article is either woefully ignorant of the facts, or has prevaricated where he thought contradiction improbable.

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In the search for "Anarchists," which has taken place recently, many have pointed out "Anarchists in high places." Bribe-taking legislators, governors and mayors and other officials, who made swindling contracts or sold public monopolies, down to blackmailing police officers have all been designated as "Anarchists." Added to this "official lawlessness," have been the thieving trusts, lynchers, and all "criminals" down to the petty thief. All of these have been placed in one pot with the propagandist as "dangerous Anarchists." Nothing could be farther from the truth, than to class these people with Anarchists. They are all parasites, and will comply with or break the law to gain their ends. But it makes no difference to the fleeced people, whether they are robbed according to the "letter of the law" or otherwise. Indeed, one may have a certain admiration for the spirit of a man who knowingly takes his life into his hands, which cannot be said of the "law-abididing" officials who take the people's products, in all security, in the shape of taxes and rents, which go to fill the coffers of tax-eating "feelers" and useless landlords. The Anarchists are opposed to all invasion and oppressive parasitism; but to draw fine distinctions between the tweedledee briber and tweedle-dum "law abiding," honest, Christian sheriff, who evicts the widow from her home, out of which she has been "legally" swindled, is absurd.

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Some papers, in an attempt to find the causes of and "remedies" for Anarchism, are offering the suggestion that efforts be made to raise the economic conditions of the poorer classes of people, and that there will then be fewer Anarchists. The mistake of these people is that they have made their discovery many years too late. Although at one time many Anarchists believed that Anarchism had its basis in the economic status of society, it is no longer the case. It is not the fact that one is compelled to labor fourteen hours a day, which is obnoxious, as Tolstoy has pointed out; but the necessity of selling one's time at all, at no matter what price. The fact and not the degree of slavery must he swept away. Anarchism is now firmly rooted in the intelligent thought of the world. It has so deeply penetrated the literature and science of the world, that its eradication is impossible. Repression cannot delay its onward march, and palliatives are futile against its stern logic. Only a period of dark ages could check its progress—and this is impossible in this age.

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Reports state that Czolgosz received many presents of flowers and fruit while in confinement, which of course he never received. If the names of the senders were known, it would be a matter of surprise. This would indicate that execration of the "dastardly assassin" was not nearly so universal as the hypocritical press tried to make it appear.

ABE ISAAK JR.

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Concerning Anarchy.

I respectfully suggest that the individuals who are now crying loudly for the enactment of repressive laws to suppress Anarchists, should first study their literature, in order that they may discover that there is no call for this bloodthirsty cry of extermination that is being so pitilessly urged against unoffending men, women, and children. It is true that Anarchy aims to abolish government, not by killing rulers, but developing thoughts in the minds of men, that government is not necessary, that there is room enough on earth for men to dwell in peace and plenty, without standing armies, police, jails, and scaffolds. The Anarchist propaganda is not a message of blood, but of peace; it appeals to reason, to human sympathy. Study their literature, and it will be found that there is no connection between Czolgosz' act and the philosophy of Anarchy. Suppose Czolgosz was an Anarchist,

It is cruel and inhuman to hold all Anarchists responsible for the act of one of their number. The slayer of Garfield claimed that he had a mission from god to kill the president, but did the world at large hold Christianity responsible for that bloody act? No. Yet it is common for Christian men and women to delare they are doing god's work. The upholders of government cannot kill the ideal of Anarchy by hanging its teachers or persecuting its adherents. If the theory of Anarchy has no rational basis, reason is the only weapon that will demolish it.

Likewise with government, force can never destroy it. Only the power of human thought, which has slowly demolished the false dogmas of the past, can make a breach in the wall of government. Humanity has nothing to fear from the development of the mind. Laws are the creation of fallible men. Therefore, there is nothing sacred about the law, that one should fear to criticise or investigate. If a law will not bear criticism, then there is something wrong about that law.

In conclusion, I would like to ask how many of our readers are aware that the author of the Declaration of Independence was an Anarchist? He found that it was impracticable to adopt the highest and best in the science of human government at that time. Anarchy as defined by the Century dictionary is "a social theory which regards the union of order with the absence of all direct government of man by man as the political ideal; absolute individual liberty." Jefferson's great maxim was, "That government is the best which governs least," but the privileged classes, the clergy and lawyers have taken good care to make it impossible.—Geo. B. Wheeler, in the *Freethought Ideal.*

—o—

By the Wayside.

It is astonishing how quickly people reconcile themselves with prevailing conditions and atrocities. Almost the whole civilized world denounces and abhors the Torquemada of the dark ages, but takes the modern torturer as a matter of course, without much protest or indignation. Czolgosz was tortured in order to obtain a "confession," and so is done with the Filipinos, yet no voice of protest is heard. Why is it that the so-called Freethougt press, which is so loud in denouncing the Torquemadas of the Middle Ages, has nothing to say about tortures of our own time? Will the *Truth Seeker, Torch of Reason,* etc., explain their silence?

* * *

"Propaganda by deed" is now often quoted as an interpretation of assassination. In reality its advocates meant to convey nothing else than the carrying out of our beliefs into action. All theories are of little value unless they are applied to our daily life and conduct.

* * *

The American dailies reported the imprisonment of the editor of *Le Libertaire,* an Anarchist weekly in France. They did not forget also to tell their readers that Laurent Tailhade had been one of the injured guests when a bomb was hurled into a high-toned restaurant, and that the press at that time had sarcastically asked Laurent Tailhade how he liked to take his own medicine. The reply he gave the press failed to report, however, and it may interest the readers of FREE SOCIETY to know it. "I had no business to sit among thieves," he said; and wrote an excellent article in defense of the act.

* * *

The "stamping out" craze has taken a sane turn, and the Anarchists need not fear the result. Not only speakers of literary and ethical societies, students of universities, but even those of the Young Men's Christian Associations write for literature and information when they are requested to speak on Anarchism. Such attitude does not verify the claim of some timid soreheads, that the inaugurated persecution will hamper the propaganda because "the air is so full of vague and passionate clamor for the 'stamping out' of Anarchism."

* * *

Citizens in Milwaukee, Wis. have adopted peaceble methods to combat Anarchism. They "adopted a constitution setting forth the belief that the enactment of laws to prevent the spread of Anarchistic doctrines is practically ineffectual, but that educational methods may be effectual, by making such doctrines so unpopular and contemptible that no one will venture to promulgate them." Now, the members of the organizations will undoubtedly purchase Anarchist literature in order to expose its "vileness"; and if this is done, I venture to predict that the Anarchists will win the race.

* * *

Last Sunday Mr. Salter, speaker for the Ethical Culture Society, lectured on Anarchism. His utterances showed that he had studied our doctrines and aims with some thoroughness. "We may not believe in the possibility of its realization," he said, "but it is a thought, an ideal, and as such can only be cured by argument and good fellowship." He did not believe in Anarchism; on the contrary, "I believe the greater the freedom, the worse people are," an utterance which one would not expect to hear from a man who proposes to reform mankind by ethical culture. If he reasons logically, he evidently favors absolute despotism and is consequently also an "enemy of our democratic institutions."

* * *

The other day some anti-Anarchist buttons were detected by some comrades in a street car, and one of the comrades handed the man a copy of FREE SOCIETY. The "extirpator" was rather embarrassed in the presence of Anarchists. INTERLOPER.

—o—

John Most.

John Most was visited on Saturday, Oct. 19, by his wife and one of his friends. He is in good spirits, and sends hearty greetings to all his friends and comrades. As on former occasions, his beard was shaved, and he has been put in striped clothing. He has been put to work in the blacksmithshop, where he turns the wheel of a drill-press. He is allowed to receive various articles and food once a week from the outside, but papers and other literature are strongly prohibited. Visits are allowed him only once a month; and he can also write one letter during that time. One can send any number of letters to him—if they are ever delivered to him depends upon their contents and the decision of the warden, who of course has them read first. From the appeal Most does not expect anything, rather he is prepared to serve the year on general principles, as a "sinner," as on many previous occasions. At the same time he is convinced that he will leave the island unrepentant and in good health, to take up again the old battle against Church and State. He will remain undaunted and of a cheerful disposition as long as he knows that his pet and child of sorrow, the *Freiheit,* is maintained, and if his wife and children are out of want. May the comrades act accordingly!

The above is taken from the *Freiheit,* which so far made its regular appearance.

Since the above was written, the daily press reports that Justice McLean, in the Supreme Court, has granted a stay of sentence, which may release Comrade Most from the penitentiary.

—o—

Here and There.

The Jewish comrades in New York were prevented by the police from giving an entertainment, which was to be given for the benefit of their weekly organ. Of course we are not surprised at any police outrage against the Anarchists, and are only wondering how long it will take before we will be prohibited from visiting each other; for as far as tyranical merhods of suppression are concerned America has already exelled some monarchies of Europe.

"The war is over," we were told a year ago as regards the Philippines. Today we hear that 40,000 troops are insufficient to keep the Filipinos "civilized," and the force has to be augmented. Yet we do not wonder that the "heathens" are slow in accepting the rulership of a "Christian nations," when we hear about the noble methods that are employed to "civilize" these "barbarians." The secret service "discovered" a plot among the Filipinos, and as the "conspirators" denied all knowledge of the matter, they were "tortured into confession, and the ringleaders put to death." Lieutenant Sweet isthe modern Torquemada.

One of the Anarchist weeklies, *Die Freiheit* of Germany has been suppressed, and its editor, Klinke, arrested. Why should not the German government imitate the free American republic?

In New York the comrades succeeded in unmasking the seventh reptile of the Italian government. This spy made a full confession (not by torture) that he had been employed by the Italian consul for the noble task of forming a plot for the assassination of Victor Emmanuel. It is a pity that the comrades in New York so persistently deprive the arduous consul of the glory to "discover" plots!

The *Slowopolskie* of Lemberg, Galicia, publishes a dispatch giving the fate of 114 workmen who where arrested at the St. Petersburg riots in the early part of last May. Fourteen of the men were shot in the infantry barracks. It took two volleys to kill them. Twenty-three were sentenced to perpetual exile in Siberia; sixty-six to Siberian exile ranging from two to ten years, and eleven to terms of imprisonment in Russian jails. (This is called law and order).

History of the French Revolution.

XXV

After a time, however, Carrier grew bolder. "Quel torrent revolutionaire!" he exclaims, with rapture echoed by Lebon at Arras. No one in Nantes dared to speak of his atrocities: so he could dissemble them in his reports to the Convention. He indulged himself in witnessing the spectacle. An elegantly furnished galley, in which his friend Lambertye watched the river banks, was used for this purpose. Sometimes the victims were tied together and thrown overboard; sometimes, it is said, but this seems very improbable, they were drowned in the hold. His emphemistic phrase "deportations" became the jest of his circle and gave rise to others. The sinking of boats was called "republican baptisms," the drowning of victims tied together "republican marriages." Royalist calumny improved on the latter by stating that men and women were sometimes stripped naked and kept tied together some time for the amusement of their tormentors before being drowned.* But in truth the hot-bed of idle luxury is necessary to these refinements. They are not in sans-culottid imagination. Send Carrier to Cawnpore, and the gratitude of a Christian nation will commemorate by statuery his salutary severity in punishing a rebellion not more savage and murderous than that of Vendée. Send Neill to Nantes, and Jacobin patriotism will reward his services only with a grave in the Gehenna of quick lime.† However, I owe Carrier an apology for the comparison. The cruelty of the military butchers found a few defenders. Chief among them was Barere, the rattling weathercock of the revolutionary hurricane. But it must be admitted that here, as elsewhere, he was only an exaggerator of other men's models. Camille Desmoulins, perharps the most amiable of his associates, had called himself the attorney general of the Lamp. Apropos to the lynching of Berthier and Foulon, he quoted, with taste as execrable as the sentiment when thus misapplied, *Qui male agit, odit lucem*. This sort of eloquence was the essence of Barere's famous style, now constantly exhibited in his "carmognoles" (reports and speeches). He was called the "Witling of Terror," and the "Anacreon of the Guillotine." When Lebon was accused before the convention for prolonging the sufferings of prisoners condemned to death,* Barere excused him in the following ornate period. ("What may not be permitted the hatred of a republican against aristocracy? How many generous sentiments may atone for what may perhaps seem harsh in the prosecution of public enemies? Revolutionary measures are always to be spoken of with respect. Liberty is a virgin whose veil it is not lawful to lift."† There was, however, another sort of abuse which the revolutionary government regarded more leniently. Fouché, at Lyons; Barras, at Toulon; Tallien, at Bordeaux; proved that, as Danton said of himself, they loved money better than blood. They sold their protection. The incorruptible Committee showed that it was not exactly cruel by winking at this as it would not at the crimes of a Schneider or a Carrier. Robespierre was an exception. The same tendency to embody everything—a trait of our universal intellectual feebleness—which gives rise to hero-worship, also causes some individual, taken, as Macaulay says, by lot, to be made the personification of evil movement. He correctly remarks that Robespierre is one of the victims, popularly selected as the Fiend of Terror. The truth is Robespierre disliked both the men of blood and the men of greed—the fanatics who make systems like the Terror and the scoundrels whom such systems make. As between them, he had simply a languid preference for the former. And he was right; for the corrupt element in Jacobinism was destined to be his own death and the death of his ideals.

The vengeance of the Committee fell with crushing weight upon the Girondins. Barbaroux shot himself. The remains of Pétion and Buzot were found, partially devoured by wolves, near Bordeaux. Gaudet was beheaded in the same city. Madame Roland was guillotined, November 9.‡ Her husband, who had so far escaped capture, fell on his sword. Rebecqui committed suicide, by drowning, at Marseilles. Paine, who had voted to spare the king, and now avoided the sessions of the Convention in disgust, was imprisoned till the end of the Terror. Of all contemporary revolutionists he has done most to popularize advanced views. His "Crisis" and "Common Sense" are more read than any polemical literature of the American revolution. Among all the many replies to Burke only two enjoy a continued reputation; and Paine's "Rights of Man" retains twenty times the vogue of Mackintosh's "Vindiciæ Gallicæ." All the political writings of this eloquent humanitarian have a common character. Drawn by their high moral standard above the atmosphere of compromise, they represent the spirit without the philosophy of Anarchism. His forced repose was fruitful, for it added to them the "Age of Reason," which with almost Voltaire's power of influencing the multitude, combined much more than Voltaire's earnestness. Nothing like it had, or has since, appeared in our language.

"I honor the man who is willing to sink
Half his present repute for the freedom to think;
And, having done that, be his cause strong and weak
Will sink 't other half for the freedom to speak."

This was always Paine's temper. But he does not seem to have expected, while writing the first part of his book, in prison, that atheists would ignore or praise it, while orthodoxy was more exacerbated than by the combined works of Toland, Tindal, Chubb, and Collins. He tells us that he regarded the supertitions which he censured as already practically dead; and that his real game was the new gospel of such prophets as Hébert. A still higher interest belongs to the persecution of Condorcet. Sheltered for nine months by the generosity of a woman, he eagerly penned his "Sketch of the Progress of the Human Mind," a real manual of philosophic Anarchism; and then fairly ran away from his benefactress that he might not compromise her. He was found dead in prison on the morning after his arrest (March 27, 1794, according to some authorities—others make it April or even May). He died some have said by poison—the official report of his death attributes it to apoplexy. The chief tragedy of the Girondins occured in October (1793). As early as July 28, Barere, in name of the Committee, brought forth a decree that nine Girondist deputies should be prosecuted, and sixteen, whose rebellion required no proof, should be outlawed. St. Just ably supported the motion, and it prevailed. On October 24, (Brumaire 3), twenty-two were, however, brought before the Revolutionary Tribunal. One of them was Brissot. He and Gensonné defended themselves very ably. Vergniaud, who always required time to prepare an oration, did not speak as well as usual. But a considerable impression was made; and it began to seem likely that some of the accused would be acquitted. The Committee took alarm. Acquittal might lead to restoration and that to renewal of the old conflict, embittered now by actual blood. This was at the very time when victory had everywhere begun to crown the patriotic exertions of the Committee. A statesman with the head and heart of Thrasybulus would have held such an occasion peculiarly auspicious for a general act of amnesty and oblivion. The Great Committee were of a

* This lie is refuted by Berriat Saint Prix "La Justice Revolutionaire," Vol. I. pp. 80-81. Alison, Carlyle, Abbott, and others, relate it as if they had been present. Even Watson reproduces it, with a saving glance, as rumor. Macaulay ("Barere"), is another graphic eye-witness "All down the Loire, from Saumur to the sea, great flocks of crows and kites feasted on naked corpses, twined together in hideous embraces. . . . Babies torn from the breast were tossed from pike to pike along the Jacobin ranks. One champion of liberty had his pockets well stuffed with ears. Another swaggered about with the finger of a little child in his hat. A few months had served to degrade France below the level of New Zealand." He neglects the opportunity for a parallel with the state of Ireland under Pitt's "benevolent assimilation" four years later.

† Macaulay, of whom his old opponent Gladstone says he wrote much which was not true, but nothing which he did not believe to be true, gives a gravely false complexion to these horrors and their punishment by misrepresenting dates. "*Soon after* the ninth of Thermidor two of the vilest of mankind, Fouquier Tinville, . . . and Lebon, . . . were *placed under arrest*. A third miscreant soon *shared their fate*, Carrier." Carrier was arrested long before the ninth of Thermidor. The proceedings of the committees against him, as against others of their creatures, were, I must say commendably, slower than their proceedings against their enemies. But the weakening of the Revolutionary Tribunal, in Thermidor, merely delayed the guillotine. Tinville was not arrested "soon" after Robespierre's fall, but very late in the reaction.

* "One of the small irregularities thus gently censured" (by Barere) "was this. Lebon kept a wretched man a quarter of an hour under the knife of the guillotine in order to torment him, by reading to him, before he was despatched, a letter, the contents of which were supposed to be such as would aggravate even the bitterness of death" (Macaulay). The letter was a telegram, announcing a French victory; and if Lebon took a quarter of an hour to read it, he would never have done for a typo. This Lebon, whose death Macaulay puts before Carrier's, actually outlived even Tinville.

† Compare Rouget de Lille and Lebon—

"Liberté, Liberté cherie,
Combats avec tes defenseurs.
Sous nos drapeaux que la victoire
Accours a tes males accents;
Que tes enemis expirants
Voyent ton triomphe et notre glorie."

The obvious difference is quite like that between Desmoulins and Barere.

‡ The usual number of fables are told about her last moments. She did not propose to write down her thoughts, nor die first to encourage the timid Lamarche. On the contrary, she made him go before her, saying, "You would not dare to see me die."

different mind. They deemed it necessary to annihilate their enemies. On the 29th, Robespierre introduced a "bill of attainder," the fruitful parent of similar atrocities. Barere seconded it. The Tribunal was next day authorized, that is ordered by its creators, the Committee of Public Security and the Convention, to condemn all the prisoners without further hearing, which accordingly it did. One of the Girondins, Valazé, immediately stabbed himself on learning his doom. The often quoted and misquoted account of the fallen chiefs' last night alive is largely fabulous.* But their closing scene was full of tragic grandeur. They rode in the rude cart of the period, singing the Marseilles Hymn, October 31. Among them lay the corpse of Valazé, which was to be mangled by the national chopper, according to that sentence he had attempted evading. Sillery (husband of De Genlis), who first mounted the scaffold, continued to sing until the axe fell. His companions kept up the strain, though it grew fainter, for one and thirty minutes, when the last voice was hushed. It had been the eloquent voice of Vergniaud. So noble an end naturally raised them to an eminence they would hardly have attained without. If fine speeches be more admirable than deeds, they were the great men of their day. If we would regard them as martyrs, they were martyrs rather to property than anything else, and bourgeois historians, accordingly, have shown them special favor. Their indictment was founded on Danton's and Desmoulins' last pamphlet against them, which, though good enough for its original purpose, was wretched stuff to bring into a court of justice. Desmoulins, the hero of July 12, had absolutely insinuated that Pitt got up the Revolution! The vehement but sensitive authors experienced great remorse. They set themselves henceforth against the Terror.

The power of the Committee was not yet, however, at its height in Paris, a city far indeed from objecting to extreme doctrines of local autonomy when she, instead of Lyons or Vendée, was to gain by their application. The Communards of 1793 had great weight with the Convention, because Paris had both saved and chastised that body; but they were not mighty in the Committee. Their strongholds were, of course, the Municipal Council, the sections, but above all the Cordeliers' Club. Their most active leaders were Clootz, Chaumette, Momoro, and Hébert. All represent a peculiar system—the extreme doctrine of nihilistic utilitarianism. Very few historians have had a good word to say for them. It is fair therefore I should tell that their influence shows in the best acts of the Convention, which, as stated, made a strange hash of legislation. The progressive income tax; the poor laws, too generous to be practical, but certainly well meant; the encouragement of education and science; all this was quite in their way. All orphans were adopted by the State. This applied very particularly to those of condemned traitors, a class whom most governments leave destitute, and some even forbid the charitable to assist. When the ill-usage of Louis' family is mentioned, let us not forget that the Commune did as much for the children of a poor criminal as Athens, in her best days, for those of a public benefactor. Chaumette procured the abolition of corporal punishment in schools; he suppressed lotteries and gaming houses, and opened libraries. He obtained the establishement of lying-in wards, that enlargement of hospitals which health and decency required, books for the amusement of patients. It was he whose persistent visits to the Convention procured the Constitution of 1793. Reformation in alms houses and in penal institutions was also among his good works. The liberty of divorce was always in the program of this sect. The impetus given to knowledge came from them. The Committee, not itself a talented body, was little able to encourage talent, but talent was brilliantly encouraged. That new scientific France we know and reverence sprang entire from the dinned and dazzled brain of the Terror—a Minerva from the Thunderer's head. Those institutions of learning already mentioned, were conceived in the very spirit of free Paris. So were schools of music and the arts. The nation's needs called forth her ingenuity. The art of decarbonizing steel from iron, so signally improved since, was now invented Saltpetre, for gunpowder, was obtained from common earth. The ports being blockaded, sugar began to be made from beets, and coffee from chicory. The gas balloon became useful in war. The mechanical telegraph, or semaphore,* recently invented by Edgeworth (father of the novelist Maria) was introduced. It sent messages to Lille and back in thirty minutes. Weights and measures were officially reduced to decimals during 1795. The centigrade thermometer (designed by Celsius in 1745) superseded Reaumur's complex scale. Though, as must be seen, these reforms were not all completed under the reign of Hébertist Paris, her sympathy with later ones is shown by the famous reformation of the calendar. She took the lead. The Convention adopted her innovations October 5. The chief authors were D'Eglantine and the great mathematician Lagrange. The new era was September 22, 1792, the first full day of the republic, fortunately that following the autumnal equinox in a leap year. The Gregorian arrangement accordingly required no change. Twelve months, of thirty days each, were distributed among four seasons, under names derived from different language thus Autumn—French names—*Vendemaire* (vintage), September 22 to October 21, inclusive; *Brumaire* (foggy), ending November 20; *Frimaire* (sleety), ending December 20; Winter—French names—*Nivose* (snowy), ending January 19; *Pluviose* (rainy), ending February 18; *Ventose* (windy), ending March 20. Spring—Latin names—*Germinal* (seed month) ending April 19; *Floreal* (flowery month) ending May 19; *Prairial* (grassy month), ending June 18. Summer—Greek names or at least terminations, *Messidor* (harvest giving month), ending July 18; *Thermidor* (hot month) ending August 17; *Fructidor* (fruit giving month), ending September 16.

At the end of Fructidor came the five (or six) superfluous days, which were made legal holidays, and therefore absurdly called Sansculottids. Every tenth day was also a holiday. Evidently, the convenience of almanac making had not been consulted when the world was created—which, in the opinion of Hébert & Co., might perhaps justify King Alfonso's dictum that he could have done it better! This *universal* scheme, —as local as Mahomet's—continued in use till 11th of Nivose, An 13, vulgarly called December 31, 1805, i. e. Old Style, or "Slave Style" was resumed January 1, 1806. Two other noble projects received official recognition, while revolutionary Paris was France. The deaf and dumb school of Abbé Sicard, already mentioned, was endowed in 1791. The humane and philosophic method of Pinel was introduced into that hell of lunatics, the Bicetre, by authority of the Convention, against the prejudices of the ignorant and brutal keepers, during the Reign of Terror. Conthon, though he almost despaired of its success, took especial interest in the trial. Among the four men unanimously selected as representatives of this period, nothing worse can be said of Momoro than that he was dull; Clootz may have been cracked,* but meant well: Chaumette, we can see, was good after the atheistic fashion —he "loved his fellow men," and "believed in making the most of the only world we know." Hébert was a very great blackguard; but—it is a mistake to suppose the sense of decency measures other virtues. Many as well bred people as Louis XIV have been models of callousness; many a Nell Gwynne has shown all the tenderness of Magdalene. Hébert was in fact a soft-hearted lump of dirt. He talked blood; but he shed mostly tears, to which he was much addicted. His first accorded blubbering, so far as I know, was when he saw Louis XVI receive notice that he must die. Hébert excused his emotion by saying he wept for rage! Next day, when Capet's death was announced at the Commune, the editor of Pere Duchesne was observed to be lachrymose again. "The tyrant always patted my dog," was his explanation of the phenomenon this time. At La Force, we have seen, he protected the queen's ladies. He particularly, though vainly, exerted himself to save Lamballe. That idolatious biographer of Marie Antoniette, La Rocheterie, asserts that Hébert was involved in the plots to effect her escape from the Conciergerie; and that he then abused her with extra violence only because he knew himself to be suspected. Macaulay's statement that Hébert was "perhaps the best representative" of a "gang so low-minded and so inhuman that compared with them Robespierre might be called magnanimous and merciful" may be put beside these unvarnished facts.

C. L. JAMES.

(Continued next week.)

* They were not sentenced till midnight. The Abbé Lambert, made sponsor for the story, died the year of its publication. An actual fellow prisoner denies his most important alleged statements. (See Memoirs of Riourffe, 1823, pp. 48–55). The legend is Theophilanthropic.

* The meaning of this word is sometimes limited to a particular form, of later origin. There may perhaps be a question of priority between Edgeworth and the Frenchman Chappe, who brought out his telegraph during 1792.

* He wrote an ironical "Proof of the Divine Origin of Mahometism," and described himself as "the personal enemy of Jesus Christ."

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For Chicgo.

On December 5, a debate on "Socialism vs. Anarchism," between A. M. Simons and A. Isaak, will take place in Mueller's Hall, Sedgwick St., and North Ave. Admission 15 cents a person in advance. At the door 25 cents. Tickets are for sale at this office, C. Pfuetzner, 469 Wabash Ave. and A. Edelstadt, 372 State St.

November 8, 8.15 p. m., Jenkin Lloyd Jones will lecture on Ibsen's "The Enemy of the People," at University Lecture Hall, 203 Michigan Ave. Free discussion.

These meetings are held under the auspices of the Daughters of the Revolution.

American Rule in Hawaii.

While there have been some indications, from time to time, that American rule was not entirely satisfactory to all the people in Cuba, Porto Rico, and the Philippines, it has been supposed that Hawaii was as happy and contented as California or Maine. The Honolulu *Volcano*, however, is far from being satisfied with the American administration of the islands. It says:

On August 12, 1898, the American flag was formally raised over the islands. Tomorrow will be the third anniversary of that event.

Three years of so-called American rule, and what have we, the people of Hawaii, to show for it? Outside of the selection by President McKinley of six American judges—Estee, Galbraith, Humphreys, Little, Eddings, and Grear—Americans and American teachings of popular government have received no recognition in these islands.

The biggest mistake ever made by President McKinley in the governing of the insular possessions was when he appointed Sanford B. Dole the first governor of this Territory. Dole, whatever his personal qualities may be, is not an American. His education, training, and surroundings were and are diametrically opposed to a democratic form of government. Dole was born under a monarchical flag, educated under that flag, held office under that flag for the greater part of his life, and rebelled against that flag. The rebellion was not in the interest of a democratic form of government and the extension of personal liberty. Not at all. It was for the purpose of perpetuating in power a coterie, that it might live in luxurious ease, and acquire ill-gotten gain off the oligarchy it established, and which exists in these islands today under the flag, nearly as strong and defiant as it did under the rag of the oligarchy.

Three years of so-called American rule! Where is that rule? It exists in name only. There isn't a monarchy, not even Russia, where there is less individual liberty than in Hawaii today. There isn't an incorporated town in the group. Honolulu, with a population of 40,000 inhabitants, is helpless, being without municipal government and debarred the right of electing any official; in fact, we have none except he be appointed by Dole.

The oligarchs never wanted an American government. They wanted an American protectorate—the flag without the Constitution. Dole vetoed a county government bill passed by the late legislature. In his message to that body he was bunglingly evasive on the subject of county and municipal government. He discouraged the legislature in committing the rash act of according to presumed American citizens the right to elect county and municipal officers.

What kind of an American community is it that is debarred the privilege of self-government?

On the third anniversary of the formal raising of the flag over these islands the supreme court of the Territory is to meet in special session; and for what—in the furtherance of justice? It assembles to devise ways and means, if possible, to keep in jail men never legally convicted, and who have been released on writs of *habeas corpus* by Judge Gear and the United States Supreme Court decisions in the insular cases. It assembles to devise ways and means, if possible, to legalize an income tax, which has been declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court of the United States. In other words, it assembles to reverse the Supreme Courts of the United States!

The three years of so-called American rule in Hawaii has been a damnable disgrace to every American who loves his country and his flag.

The other Honolulu papers allow the anniversary to pass without special remark, and if they feel dissatisfaction with the American conduct of affairs, they do not express it. — *The Literary Digest.*

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